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VOLUME X

THE MISTERIO DE LOS REYES MAGOS

ITS POSITION IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
MEDIAEVAL LEGEND OF THE THREE KINGS

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

WINIFRED STURDEVANT

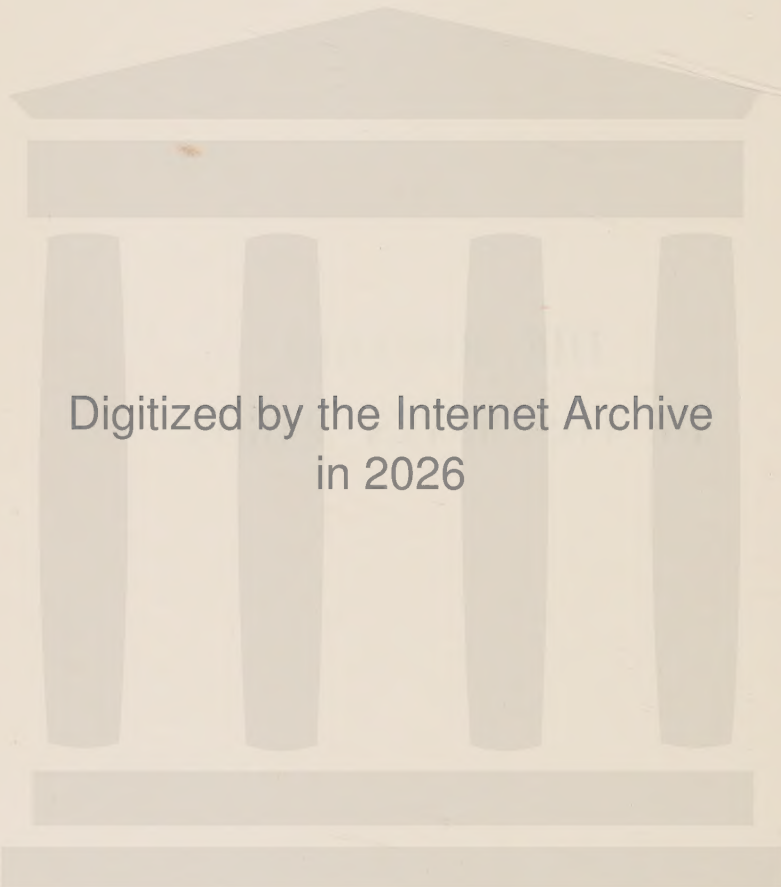
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DE LOS REYES MAGOS**



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INTRODUCTION

The Legend of the Three Kings has been the subject of many critical studies, theological, historical, literary, astronomical and iconographic, but has been singularly neglected from the point of view of the drama.

The results of some of these critical studies, although not bearing directly on the drama, furnish, nevertheless, much useful material for tracing the development of the legend in its relations with the drama. Most of the material which can be utilized for this purpose was collected by H. Crombach in his *Primitiæ Gentium sive Historia SS. Trium Regum*, (Cologne 1654) who, however, scorns reference to any but the orthodox theological tradition. Later purely theological commentators, the most comprehensive of whom is F. J. Patrizi in his *De Evangeliiis Libri Tres, Dissertatio 27, De Magis qui Christum inviserunt* (Freiburg in B., 1853) add little except more modern scholarly apparatus. O. Schade, in his edition of the Pseudo-Matthew, *Liber de Infantia Mariæ et Christi Salvatoris*, (Halle, 1869) gives much the same material, but adds references to the occurrence of the tradition in mediaeval German poetry and thereby

contributes to the study of dramatic sources. Abp. Trench, (Philadelphia, 1850), in *The Star of the Wise Men*, discusses the theological tradition from an Anglican and devotional point of view; Ch. Schoebel in *l'Histoire des Rois Mages*, (Paris, 1878) considers the philosophical symbolism of the legend. The most exhaustive and interesting study is the comparatively recent one of H. Kehrer, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, 2 vols., (Leipzig, 1909) which is as comprehensive as its title suggests and is invaluable for a study of the legend.

These works and many other less comprehensive ones, repeat and supplement each other in such a way that it is impossible to distinguish among them in acknowledging the indebtedness of the present study for the specific references which have been consulted. Undoubtedly, however, the bulk of indebtedness is due to Kehrer.

Many of the points which are considered at greatest length in these critical studies do not concern in any way the dramatic tradition. The doctrinal significance of the Epiphany, certain motifs of the legend, such as the well at Bethlehem into which the star fell after it had accomplished its purpose, special symbolical meanings of the gifts, are not utilized by the drama. A curious instance of this is that although the consensus of opinion brings the Three Kings from Persia, Persia is not given as their country in the mediaeval dramatic versions hitherto published but is found in the episode from the Valenciennes *Passion* published in Appendix II of this study.

On the other hand, possible sources of Three

Kings plays which have been considered as sources of other episodes of the cyclic drama, such as the French narrative poems of the Infancy, or the Biblical commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra, are not mentioned in these studies.

The only general study of the legend in the drama is in Kehrer's chapter on mystery plays, in which the discussion of the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, the special subject of the present study, occupies one paragraph of nine sentences, in four of which the second hand information from Creizenach's *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* and Hartmann's *Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, is either incorrect or misleading.

Duriez, in *La Théologie dans le drame religieux en Allemagne au Moyen âge* (Lille, 1914), devotes fifteen pages to a study of the theological sources of the legend as found in the mediaeval German drama.

The only detailed discussion of the legend in connection with an individual play in the vernacular is that of Joseph Klapper on the sources of the *St. Gall Kindheit Jesu* in his edition of the play (Breslau, 1904).

Other discussions either of individual plays or of the relations between Three Kings plays are superficial and unsatisfactory. A possible source is often suggested, but no evidence is given as to why that one is chosen rather than several others which follow the same tradition. Or a borrowing between plays is posited merely on the basis of a common adoption of a traditional element of frequent occurrence.

Emile Roy, for instance, in his *Le Mystère de la Passion en France* (Dijon et Paris, 1903) pp. 210-211, in discussing the episode in the Greban *Passion*, gives Nicholas of Lyra as an immediate source because of the resemblances in the definition of the nature of the star, which, however, are not close, and the return of the Magi by ship, both of which elements occur frequently and in conjunction several times between Peter Comestor and Nicholas of Lyra. Wilmotte in *Les Passions allemandes du Rhin dans leur rapport avec l'ancien théâtre français* (Paris, 1898) p. 75, on the other hand, finds the Eger play a «flagrant imitation» of the Greban *Passion* because of the return by ship, without, however, giving any evidence that the author is not merely dramatizing a common tradition.

In order to establish a source on the basis of the legend, it is necessary first to determine the more unusual motifs of a given play and then to find where these motifs occur in the same combination in any possible source of the drama.

The object of the following study is to facilitate such research in all mediaeval Three Kings plays and to present, with evidence, a new theory of an immediate source of the earliest Three Kings play in the vernacular, the Spanish *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*.

Since the Shepherds or Prophets plays so frequently precede, and the Slaughter of the Innocents plays so frequently follow the Three Kings episode without interruption, it would be interesting to extend the study to include them, but it has been considered that since the plays were just

as frequently distinct one from the other, the deductions based on their relations to the Three Kings plays might bias any conclusion based on the Three Kings plays alone .

The quotations from the early Greek Fathers have been given usually in Latin translation since they are most easily accessible and generally understood in that form and most suggestive of the continuity of tradition.

The study has been completed through the chronological presentation in theological and early French writings of the first appearance of the various motifs of the legend of the Three Kings which are utilized by the mediaeval drama ; the tabulation of the reappearance in Greek and Latin theological writings of three of the most important motifs which are utilized by the Spanish play ; the study of the position of the *Reyes Magos* in the development of the legend ; and the publication of the text of the Three Kings episode from the *Passion de Jesu crist en rime franchoise*, Ms. 560 of the library of the city of Valenciennes.

The plan of the complete study is to add ultimately a discussion of the legend in popular writings in English and German ; to present briefly the motifs of the legend as they occur in the liturgy and liturgical plays ; and, finally, to show the relations of the legend in individual plays in French, English and German to the legend in non-dramatic literature, and thereby to contribute to the study of the sources of the Three Kings plays and of any relations which may exist between them.

THE LEGEND IN THE GOSPEL OF SAINT MATTHEW

The foundation of the legend of the Magi is the Gospel narrative which occurs only in Matthew.

Matt. II. 1-12 (1).

1. Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in Bethlehem Juda, in diebus Herodis regis, ecce Magi ab oriente venerunt Jerosolymam,

2. Dicentes : Ubi est qui natus est rex Judaeorum ? vidimus enim stellam ejus in oriente, et venimus adorare eum.

3. Audiens autem Herodes rex, turbatus est, et omnis Jerosolyma cum illo.

4. Et congregans omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi, sciscitabatur ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur.

5. At illi dixerunt ei : In Bethlehem Judæ : Sic enim scriptum est per Prophetam :

6. Et tu Bethlehem terra Juda, nequaquam minima es in principibus Juda : ex te enim exiet dux, qui regat populum meum Israel (Micah, V. 2).

7. Tunc Herodes clam vocatis Magis, diligenter didicit ab eis tempus stellæ, quæ apparuit eis :

8. Et mittens illos in Bethlehem, dixit : Ite et interrogate diligenter de puero : et cum inveneritis, renuntiate mihi, ut et ego veniens adorem eum.

9. Qui cum audissent regem, abierunt, et ecce stella, quam viderant in oriente, antecedebat eos, usque dum veniens staret supra ubi erat puer.

(1) *Biblia Sacra, Vulgatae editionis*, ed. P. Michael Hetzenauer (Rome, 1861).

10. Videntes autem stellam gavisi sunt gaudio magno valde.

11. Et intrantes domum, invenerunt puerum cum Maria matre ejus, et procidentes adoraverunt eum: et apertis thesauris suis obtulerunt ei munera, aurum, thus, et myrrham.

12. Et responso accepto in somnis ne redirent ad Herodem, per aliam viam reversi sunt in regionem suam.

Biblical passages from the Old Testament which became associated in tradition with the Magi as pre-figurations of the passage in St. Matthew and which are adopted by the drama are the following:

Num. XXIV, 17: Orietur stella ex Jacob, et consurget virga de Israel, et percutiet duces Moab, vastabitque omnes filios Seth. Et erit Idumæa possessio ejus.

Ps. LXXII, 9: Coram illo procident Aethiopes.

10-11 Reges Tharsis et insulæ munera offerent, reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent.

Ps. XLVIII, 8: In spiritu vehementi conteres naves Tharsis.

Isaiah LX, 3-6: Et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo et reges in splendore ortus tui... Inundatio camellorum operiet te, dromedarii Madian et Ephraim: omnes de Saba venient, aurum et thus deferentes...

Isaiah XLV, 14: Hæc dicit Dominus: Labor Ægypti et negotiatio Æthiopie, et Sabaim viri sublimes ad te transibunt...

Genesis XLIX, 10: Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore ejus, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium.

These passages will be considered in connection with their first appearance in Biblical commentaries.

THE LEGEND IN THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS

Of the New Testament Apocryphal Gospels, two, the Greek *Protevangelium of James the Less* (written after the 2nd century and probably only a little before the 6th) (1) and the Latin Pseudo-Matthew *Gospel of the Infancy* (probably written in the 6th century) (2) give the account of the Magi in detail, and one, the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* (written not earlier than the end of the 6th century) (3) mentions it briefly. The additions to the narrative of Matthew found in these three apocryphal gospels that are utilized by the drama are the following :

1. From the *Protevangelium*, chap. xxi, in Michel's French translation (4) :

1. Et Hérode, l'ayant appris, fut troublé et il envoya des serviteurs près des mages.

2. Et il fit venir les princes des prêtres et les interrogea, disant : « Qu'est-il écrit au sujet du Christ... ? »

3. Et il interrogea les mages, leur disant : « Quel signe avez-vous vu au sujet du roi nouveau-né ? » Et les mages dirent :

4. « Nous avons vu une étoile brillant d'un très grand éclat parmi ces étoiles et les éclipsant au point de les rendre invisibles et nous avons ainsi reconnu

(1) *Evangiles Apocryphes*, ed. Michel et Peeters, 2 v. (Paris, 1911, 1914), I, xvii.

(2) *Ibid.*, I, xxi.

(3) *Ibid.*, II, lv.

(4) *Ibid.*, I, 43-45.

qu'un roi était né pour Israël, et nous sommes venus l'adorer. »

II. From the *Pseudo-Matthew Gospel of the Infancy* (1).

5. *Tertia decima vero die* (2) *venerunt magi... deferentes munera. Qui instanter interrogaverunt Judæos dicentes : Ubi est... rex... Hæc opinio pervenit ad Herodem regem, et ita eum terruit ut mitteret ad scribas et Pharisæos et doctores populi...*

6. *Invenerunt infantem Jesum sedentem in sinu matris.*

7. *Tunc aperuerunt thesauros suos et ingentibus muneribus muneraverunt Mariam et Joseph...*

8. *Post hæc unus obtulit aurum, alius thus, alius vero myrrham.*

9. *Admoniti sunt in somnis ne redirent ad Herodem.*

III. From the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, Peeters' French translation, chap. vii (3) :

10. ...Voici que des mages arrivèrent... selon ce que Zoroastre avait prédit...

11. Et au même instant un ange leur apparut sous la forme de l'étoile qui avait d'abord été leur guide. And in chap. ix, Herod dismisses the Magi before he summons the scribes to ask where Christ should be born.

A summary of the additions from the apocryphal gospels utilized by the drama are, therefore, from the *Protevangelium* :

1. A suggestion of the messenger scenes.

2. Herod's usual question of the scribes of what they find written.

3. Herod's usual question of the Magi expressed in the Latin plays by « Quo signo ».

(1) *Ibid.*, I, 108-110.

(2) In one Ms. only. In others : *Transacto vero secundo anno ; duobis diebus*, etc.

(3) Michel et Peeters, *op. cit.*, II, 9.

4. Characterization of the star as very great and dazzling.

From the *Pseudo-Matthew* :

5. The time (in a single Ms.).

6. The child is found sitting on his mother's lap.

7. Gifts to Mary and Joseph.

8. The suggestion of the number three in *unus, alius, alius*.

9. The warning by an angel.

From the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* :

10. Prophecy of Zoroaster.

11. The suggestion that the star was an angel.

12. Dismissal of the Magi before the convocation of the scribes.

THE LEGEND IN GREEK AND LATIN THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS

The first comment on the passage from Matthew that has come down to us is that of Ignatius of Antioch (beginning of the 2nd century). His description of the star is extremely interesting as voicing at so early a date the conception, generally adopted in the drama, of novelty as well as of the brilliancy mentioned in connection with the *Protevangelium*.

« Stella in cœlo fulsit, splendore exsuperans omnes stellas, et lux illius ineffabilis erat, et stuporem incussit ipsius novitas... Et perturbatio erat, unde prodiret novitas illis dissimilis (1).

Justin Martyr (c.100-c.167) relates the whole passage, adding the country of the Magi : « Magi ex Arabia profecti eum adoraverunt ; and amplifying the Gospel « vidimus enim stellam ejus » into the more dramatic « ex stella quæ in cœlo apparuit, cognovimus natum esse regem in terra vestra (2) ».

Irenæus (c.115-c.202) adds to the narrative two motifs, both of which are found in the liturgy and are adopted practically universally by the drama. The first is the identification of the star of the Wise Men

(1) MIGNE, *Patrologia Græca*, V, 659, *Epistola ad Ephesios*, cap. 19. The Greek text of Migne is identical with that of A. Hilgenfeld, *Ignatii Antiocheni Epistulae* (Berlin, 1902), p. 7, ll. 13-17.

(2) MIGNE, *P. G.*, VI, 658, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo*, cap. 77. the Greek text of which is identical with that of G. Archambault, *Justin, Dialogue avec Tryphon* (Paris, 1909), II, 16, in Hemmer et Lejay, *Textes et documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme*.

with that prefigured in Balaam's prophecy, « *cujus et stellam Balaam quidem sic prophetavit : Orietur stella ex Jacob et surget dux in Israël, etc.* ». (Numbers XXIV, 17). The second is the symbolical meaning of the gifts : per ea quæ obtulerunt munera ostendisse, quis erat qui adorabatur : myrrham quidem quod ipse erat, qui pro mortali humano genere moreretur et sepeliretur ; aurum vero, quoniam rex ; thus vero quoniam Deus (1) ».

Tertullian (160-220) is the first to identify the Magi with the kings of Psalm LXXI, 9-11 : « *Coram illo procedent Æthiopes : et inimici ejus terram lingent.*

10. Reges Tharsis et insulæ munera offerent : Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent :

11. Et adorabunt eum omnes reges terræ : omnes gentes servient ei. »

Tertullian says : « *De illo autem tunc auri munere etiam David : et dabitur illi ex auro Arabiæ, et rursus reges Arabum et Saba munera offerunt illi. Nam et magos reges habuit fere Oriens* (2) ».

Tertullian is also the first to consider them astrologers : « *Sed magi (et astrologi) ab oriente uenerunt... Primi igitur stellarum interpretes natum Christum anuntiauerunt, primi munerauerunt* (3) ».

Origen (185-253) treats the subject at greater length than any of his predecessors, and furnishes much of the later homiletic material on the Magi, notably of Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome and Ambrose. In addition to being the first to suggest that the Magi were three in number and of the race of Balaam, he describes the star in detail and gives the symbolical meaning of the gifts. The passages most frequently quoted are : « *Ex illo (sc. Balaam) denique fertur magorum genus et institutio... qui descripta habentes apud se omnia quæ*

(1) MIGNE, P. G., VII, 870-1, *Contra Hæreses*, III, ix, 2.

(2) *Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum... Vindobonensis*, XLVII, *Tertulliani Opera*, Pars III, p. 398.

(3) C. S. E. L., XX, *Tertulliani Opera*, Pars I, p. 38.

prophetaverat Balaam, etiam hoc habuerunt scriptum quod 'Orietur stella'... Hæc scripta habebant magi apud semetipsos, et ideo quando natus est Jesus, agnoverunt stellam, et intellexerunt adimpleri prophetiam (1).

And again: « Magi illi, qui de Oriente venientes primi adorare venerunt Jesum, de semine ejus (sc. Balaam) esse videantur, sive per successionem generis, sive per disciplinae traditionem (2) ».

« Stellam quæ ab illis in Oriente conspecta fuit, novam fuisse opinamur, nec ulli earum similem, quæ vel in firmamento sunt vel in orbibus inferioribus (3) ».

The passage suggesting that the Magi were three in number is: « Possunt quidem isti tres (4)... figuram tenere magorum, qui ex Orientis partibus veniunt eruditi paternis libris (5) ».

Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367) is frequently quoted directly by later exegetes. More emphatically than Tertullian he quotes Psalm LXXI, 9 as having its perfect fulfilment in the adoration of the Wise Men, and virtually establishes their position as kings (6).

Gregory Nazianzen (c.325-c.389) stresses especially the nature of the star. The Magi he describes as Chaldæan astrologers. The Latin translation of certain of his phrases suggests strikingly the phraseology of the Latin liturgical plays. The star is « nova et nunquam antea visa... valde rutilantem;... stella prævisa in Hebræorum libris, a quibus edocti, Chaldæorum filii, quorum vita erat astris dedita... Tunc astrolo-

(1) *P. G.*, XII, 675, *In Numeros Homilia*, XIII, 7. = ed. W. A. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1921), p. 118, ll. 17-22.

(2) *P. G.*, XII, 689, *In Numeros Homilia*, XV, 4. = ed. Baehrens, p. 136, ll. 23-25, except that Baehrens reads *adoraverunt* for *adorare venerunt*.

(3) *P. G.*, XI, 767, *Contra Celsum*, I, 58. Cf. ed. P. Koetschau (Leipzig, 1899), p. 109, ll. 28-30, which has a Greek text identical with that of Migne.

(4) Abimelech, Ochosath and Phicol (*Genesis*, XXVI, 26).

(5) *P. G.*, XII, 238, *In Genesim Homilia*, XIV, 3. = ed. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1920), p. 125, ll. 8-10.

(6) MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, X, 124-5, *De Trinitate*, lib. IV.

gorum artis solertia omnis concidit, cum regem astrologi adorarent (1) ».

Cæsarius (c.330-c.369), brother of Gregory, brings up a question in connection with the star which is of great importance to the dramatic development of the legend. From the words of Matthew II, 8 : *abierunt, et ecce stella quam viderant in Oriente antecedeat eos*, it may perhaps be considered implicit in the Gospel narrative that the star had disappeared during the sojourn of the Wise Men in Jerusalem, but Cæsarius is the first to state it as a fact. He does so in support of the statement already suggested in connection with the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* and elsewhere, also, frequently repeated after Cæsarius (by e. g. Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom and Diodorus Tarsensis) that the star must have been some intellectual and rational power, because, unlike any other star, it was at one time moving, at another fixed and again it disappeared.

« Hæc autem utrumque recipere videtur, nimirum quæ et mobilis esset et fixa, atque etiam ab iis ducebantur, sese subduceret... propter ademptum viæ ducem. Rursus autem apparens, constitit supra antrum ubi, infans erat... nam nisi per intermissionem apparuisset non fuisset commota Hierosolyma » (2).

In the same passage he likewise qualifies the star with the epithet « royal » which is found frequently in later commentaries and is used in the York play : « illi regalem agnoscentes stellam ad adorandum puerum per stellam deducti ».

Juvenius, in his *Historia Evangelica*, written c. 330, is the first to give the legend in poetical form in Latin, and is frequently quoted by later writers (e. g. Jerome, *In Mall.*, II, 11 ; Haymo of Halberstadt, *In Epiph. Di.*), especially the lines :

(1). P. G., XXXVII, 427-30, *Carminum*, lib. I.

(2) P. G., XXXVIII, 974, *Dialogus II*, *Interrogatio* 107.

« Hinc iubet Herodes Persas pertendere gressum »
 and... « tum munera trina
 Tus, aurum, murram regique, hominique Deoque
 Dona dabant (1) ».

Prudentius (348-c.405), *Cathemerinon* XII. *Hymnus Epiphania* ; Claudian (d. 405), *Epigramma* XCIX ; and Synesius (d. c. 414) *Hymnus* VII, likewise give poetical versions of the legend in the same century. The following extracts are interestingly reflected in the liturgical plays.

« Hæc stella, quæ solis rotam
 Vincit decore ac lumine
 Venisse terris nuntiat
 Cum carne terrestri Deum... »

« En Persici ex orbis sinu,
 Sol unde sumit januam
 Cernunt periti interpretes
 Regale vexillum Magi (2). »

« Dant tibi Chaldæi prænuntia munera Reges,
 Myrrham homo ; rex aurum ; suscipe tura Deus (3). »

« Deus es, thus accipe :
 Aurum regi fero :
 Myrrha monumento congruet (4). »

Ambrose (c. 340-390) is the first to elaborate slightly the accepted mystical meaning of the gifts in giving *sacrifice* instead of *God* as the symbolical meaning of the incense : « Aurum regi, tus deo, murra defuncto ; aliud enim regis insigne, aliud diuinæ *sacrificium* potestatis, aliud honor est sepulturæ » (5).

Jerome (c.340-420) (6) gives an additional meaning to

(1) C. S. E. L., XXIV, IUVENCI, *Euangeliorum Libri Quattuor*, lib. I, 15-6.

(2) AUREL. CL. PRUDENTIUS, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Valpy (London, 1824), p. 151.

(3) CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS, ed. Artaud (Paris, 1824), v. 2, p. 406.

(4) P. G., LXVI, 1611.

(5) C. S. E. L., XXXII, Pars IV, p. 66, *Expositio euangelii Lucæ*, II, 44.

(6) P. L., XXX, 537-8, *Expos. in Evangel. Matthæus*.

the gifts which becomes a usual one and which occurs in a modified form in the Chester play : « per aurum conscientiam puram, per thus orationem rectam, per myrrham mortificationem voluntatis ».

For the first time the number of the Magi is given unmistakably : « Tres Magi... cum tribus muneribus, Trinitatem adorare significant ».

He discusses the question, solved variously by commentators and in the drama, whether each king gives all three gifts, or each gives only one : « Utrum unus aurum, alius thus, tertius myrram obtulit : non scitur : an unusquisque tria obtulit dona, aperte non dicitur, sed utrumque in figura ».

He discusses, likewise, the question of the length of the journey, which is asked, but not answered in the Gospel narrative, as frequently, also, in the drama : « *Tunc Herodes clam vocalis* (Matt. II. 6). Hic defecit historia... propter hoc distant opiniones, quando magi venerunt... si in duodecim dies, quomodo de longa terra Persæ vel Evilæ, Arabiæ vel Cedar in duodecim dies venire potuerunt ? Sed potest id facere Deus cujus verbo saxa volant, montes movebunt ».

Like Tertullian and Hilary, Jerome associates the Magi with the Psalm Kings : « *Reges Tharsis*... : quod ex magorum muneribus intelligimus inchoatum. Ipsi enim gentium regumque typum tenuisse monstrantur » (1).

John Chrysostom (c.347-407) follows Cæsarius in differentiating the star from all other stars by its movement, and adds other differences which are repeated either separately or in full by later commentators and in the drama : « Quod enim hæc stella, non ex numero aliarum, imo ne stella quidem esset, ut mihi quidem videtur, sed invisibilis quædam virtus, quæ stellæ speciem præferret, *Primo*, ab ejus itinere arguitur... hæc vero stella a septentrione ad meridiem ferebatur : Pa-

(1) P. L., XXVI, 1029, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, Psalm LXXI.

lestinæ quippe hic situs est si Persidem spectes. *Secundo*, illud etiam a tempore probari potest. Neque enim noctu apparet, sed in meridie lucente sole... Hæc vero stella splendoris sui vi etiam solis radios splendore superabat, majoresque emittebat radios. *Tertio*, probatur, quod ea modo lucem emitteret, modo cessaret. Nam venientibus in Palestinam luxit: postquam autem Jerosolymam advenerant, sese occultavit; deinde Herode relicto, postquam illum de causa itineris certiores fecerant, iter suscepturis apparuit... *Quarto*, ab ipso lucendi modo id clare discitur. Non enim in alto cælo constituta, neque enim poterant illo modo dirigi, sed inferne demissa, locum monstrabat... Quomodo igitur, quæso, locum ita angustum præsepis et tugurii ostendisset, nisi relicta illa celsitudine ad inferiora descendisset? » (1)

Augustine (354-430) substitutes a new symbolical meaning for the offering of incense, which is accepted in tradition in the liturgy and in the drama almost as interchangeable with the first meaning already mentioned under Irenæus, Juvenius, Prudentius and Synesius. Until Augustine, incense has been offered as to God; Ambrose adds « in sacrifice »; Augustine says: « et nos regem, et *sacerdotem* et pro nobis mortuum Christum agnoscentes atque laudantes tanquam in auro et thure et myrrha honoravimus » (2).

He gives the time of the appearance of the star and qualifies it in terms which later become familiar: « Dominus noster Jesus Christus ante dies tredecim natus a Magis hodie traditur adoratus... illa stella quæ nec unquam antea inter sidera apparuit ».

Maximus of Turin (c. 380-485) adds to the description of the star epithets which are later found in the liturgical plays: « Illam in Chaldæa magi *coruscantibus laetioribus radiis micantem* vident (3)... Quis enim du-

(1) *P. G.*, LVII, 64-5, *In Matthæum Homilia*, VI.

(2) *P. L.*, XXXVIII, 1031-5, *Sermones in Epiph. Dom.*

(3) *P. L.*, LVII, 264-281, *De Epiph. Dom. Homiliæ*.

bitet ipsam stellam... *fulgentioribus radiis coruscasse...* stella hæc a cæteris sideribus orbe clariore distaret... sequuntur Chaldæi *præviam* stellam.»

He states clearly that each king offered a single gift : « In eo enim quod tria offeruntur, Trinitas intelligitur ; in eo vero quod tres sunt et singuli singula offerunt, in Trinitate unitas declaratur ».

For the first time the child is found in his mother's lap as in Pseudo-Matthew : « Vident magi Redemptorem mundi in stabulo ; intuentur puerum in matris gremio ».

In the *Tractate V Contra Judæos*, which, however, is generally considered spurious, Psalm LXXII is quoted, as by Tertullian, as a prefiguration of the passage in Matthew, but the relation is made more definite : « *Reges terræ et Insulæ* ; quod manifestatum est denuo in sancto Evangelio, quando Magi venerunt portantes munera, aurum, thus et myrrham » (1).

Leo the Great (Pope 440-461) qualifies the usual conception of the star in final terms : « tribus igitur magis... stella novæ claritatis apparuit, quæ illustrior cæteris pulchriorque sideribus... sequuntur tres viri superni luminis ductum, et prævii fulgoris indicium intenta contemplatione comitantes... insolito novi sideris splendore... cæteris stella fulgentior... fulgore insoliti sideris » (2).

He speaks of the Magi as coming « a remotissima Orientis parte ».

Arnobius the Younger (c. 460) is the first to connect the ships of Tharsis of Psalm XLVIII, with Herod and the Magi, and thereby to suggest the return of the Magi by ship : « quod tempore quo non est inventus Dominus et infantes occisi sunt, etiam navigia regio sunt jussu vexata, quibus magi, qui non redierant ad regem credebant fugere potuisse » (3).

(1) *P. L.*, LVII, 801.

(2) *P. L.*, LIV, 235-45, *In Solemnitate Epiph.*, I-IV.

(3) *P. L.*, LIII, 391, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, Ps. XLVII.

The verses from Psalm XLVII are the following :

5. « Quoniam ecce reges terræ congregati sunt : convenerunt in unum.

6. Ipsi videntes sic admirati sunt, conturbati sunt, commoti sunt :

7. Tremor apprehendit eos. Ibi dolores ut parturientis.

8. In spiritu vehementi conteres naves Tharsis ».

Fulgentius (468-533) is quoted constantly by later commentators on Matthew II, 1-16 though his words concerning the star, « Hæc stella nunquam ante apparuit » (1) are taken in turn from Augustine.

His statement of the symbolism of the gifts is frequently quoted : « Per ista tria munerum genera, in uno eodemque Christo et regia potestas et divina majestas, et humana mortalitas intimatur. Aurum pertinet ad tributum, thus enim ad sacrificium, myrrha ad sepulturam pertinet mortuorum ».

Cæsar of Arles (d. c. 542), if we consider the genuineness of Maximus' *Tractate V* disproved, makes the first plain, unequivocal statement, independent of the prefiguration in the Psalm Kings, that the Magi were kings : « Illi Magi tres reges esse dicuntur » (2).

Sedatus (Bp. of Béziers 589) « in eo quod ad Christum primum Æthiopes i. e. gentes ingrediuntur » (3) gives the first suggestion that one of the kings was what the English translation of John of Hildesheim, calls a « blak Ethiope » (4). Hilary of Poitiers (5) had already associated Isaiah XLV, 14 : Hæc dicit Dominus, Labor Ægypti, et negotiatio Æthiopix, et Sabaim viri sublimes ad te transibunt, et tui erunt », with the Magi ; and Jerome had defined the Magi as representing the

(1) *P. L.*, LXV, 736, *Sermo IV De Epiph.*

(2) *P. L.*, XXXIX, 2018, *Sermo CXXXIX.*

(3) *P. L.*, LXXII, 773, *Homilia de Epiph.*

(4) *The Three Kings of Cologne*, ed. C. Horstmann (London, 1886), p. 72 (*E. E. T. S.*, 85).

(5) *P. L.*, X, 124.

descendants of the three sons of Noah : « tres magi, tres filii Noe... significant » (1) and thereby the three continents, but the connotation is less clear than in Sedatus. Later Cosmas of Jerusalem strengthens this association by including v. 9 of Psalm LXXII in his prefiguration of the coming of the Magi : « Coram illo pro-cident Æthiopes... Æthiopes et Tharsis, Arabum insulæ et Saba et Medorum, totius terræ dominatores procubuerunt tibi Salvator » (2).

Isidore of Seville (570-636) follows Tertullian in calling the Magi astronomers : « iidem stellarum interpretes magi nuncupabantur, sicut de his legitur qui in Evangelio natum Christum annuntiaverunt » (3) and in connecting them with the Psalm kings, but omits the significant word *fere* : « Omnes de Saba venient... de his muneribus et David prædicavit, dicens : Et dabitur ei de auro Arabiæ (Ps. LXXI, 11). Et rursus : Reges Tharsis... Nam et magos reges habuit Oriens » (4).

He suggests the name Zoroaster given to one of the kings in the Freising and Bilsen liturgical plays : « Magorum primus Zoroastes rex Bactrianorum » (3). As in the passage of the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* already quoted, Zoroaster is frequently given as the name of the prophet who foretold the coming of the Magi. In a redaction of this *Gospel* edited for the first time by Peeters (5), this Zoroaster is identified with Balaam : « ce Zaradust n'est autre que Balaam l'astrologue ». The pseudo-Alcuin *Liber de divinis officiis* of the 9th century; Honorius of Autun, of the 12th (as will be discussed later in more detail); Hrabanus Maurus in his *De Universo* (6); and Walter Burley in *De*

(1) *P. L.*, XXX, 554.

(2) *P. G.*, XCVIII, 462, *Hymni in Natale Domini*.

(3) *P. L.*, LXXXII, 313 ; 310, *Etymologiarum lib. VIII, cap. 9*.

(4) *P. L.*, LXXXIII, 472, *De Fide Catholica XIII*.

(5) Michel et Peeters, *op. cit.*, II, p. x.

(6) *P. L.*, CXI, 422.

Vita et moribus philosophorum (1) follow the tradition which makes Zoroaster the first of the Magians, and ancestor of the Three Kings.

In the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (2) of the 7th or 8th century, to which attention was first called in this connection by K. A. M. Hartmann (3), the traditional names of the Three Kings appear for the first time in literature as follows : *Bithisarea Melichior, Gathaspa*.

In a writing long incorrectly attributed to Bede (672-735) and published under his name with the title *Collectanea et Flores* (4), but now dated as late as the 12th century, they occur in a form more closely resembling the ones adopted by the drama (5). The passage, which is almost identical with one found in the Irish *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (6), is interesting likewise, as giving the coloring and age of the kings : « Magi sunt, qui munera Domino dederunt : primus fuisse dicitur Melchior, senex et canus, barba prolixa... aurum obtulit regi Domino : secundus nomine Caspar, juvenis imberbis... thure quasi Deo... : tertius fuscus integre barbatus, Balthasar nomine... per myrrham filium hominis moriturum professus est ».

The names occur also, in a chronicle ascribed to Flavius Dexter (fl. c. 360-390), the friend of Augustine, but, according to Hartmann (7), really written by a

(1) Ed. Knust (1886), p. 46.

(2) Ed. C. Frick, *Chronica Minora*, (Leipzig, 1892), I, 338-9.

(3) *Ueber das Altspanische Dreikönigspiel*. Leipzig Dissertation (Bautzen, 1879), pp. 51-89.

(4) *P. L.*, XCIV, 541.

(5) For discussions of the names of the Magi see : KEHRER, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-75 ; *La Vie de St. Gilles*, ed. G. Paris et A. Bos (Paris, 1881), p. xxv (*S. A. T. F.*) ; G. Paris, « Les Noms des Rois Mages » in *Rev. crit. d'hist. et de litt.* XVII (1884), 30-31 ; S. BERGER, « Les Noms des Rois Mages » in *Mélusine*, VII (1894), 27-33 ; Baist's review of Hartmann's dissertation in *Z.R.Ph.*, IV (1880), 451-5 ; R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Cantar de Mio Cid* I (Madrid, 1908), 25 ; and *Evangelios Apocryphes*, II, xlviii, n. 1.

(6) Ed. R. Atkinson (Dublin, 1887), p. 237.

(7) *Loc. cit.*, p. 64.

Spaniard of the 16th century. The passage is as follows : « Anno Christo 70. Martyrum sanctorum regum trium magorum, Gasparis, Balthasaris et Melchioris » (1).

The *Liber de divinis officiis* of the 9th century, which has been wrongly attributed to Alcuin, follows Isidore of Seville closely. The passage : « Magi Chaldæi in Oriente stellam videntes nimia claritate fulgentem ita ut solem luce superaret, ut erant edocti in cursu astrorum, animadverterunt hanc esse stellam quam olim Balaam... prædixerat... *Orietur stella*... Istorum enim magorum primus, Zoroastres rex exstitit, a quo originem feruntur traxisse » (2) though summarizing clearly the tradition concerning the Magi at the time of Charlemagne, adds nothing to it except the phrase « ita ut solem luce superaret », which is to become familiar, and the closer association of these particular Magi with the first of the race, Zoroaster.

Hrabanus Maurus (c.776-856) makes a fuller statement than his predecessors of the fact frequently referred to in the drama, that Herod was a foreigner, an Idumæan, who, after usurping the throne of Hyrcanus, was confirmed in power by Rome, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Genesis LXIX, 10 : « Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore eius, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium », and, likewise, Numbers XXIV, 18 : « et erit Idumæa possessio ejus » (3).

Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) is the first to suggest the retinue of the Magi in the words : « vel tot fuerunt principes, qui multos duxerunt in suo comitatu » (4).

Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 853) in his *Homiliæ de Tempore* (5), summarizes the various opinions concerning the provenience of the Magi : « ...cui nos diversorum

(1) P. L., XXXI, 229, Flavii Lucii Dextri *Chronicon*.

(2) P. L., CI, 1178, *Opera supposita, De Theophania Dom'ni*

(3) P. L., CVII, 754, *Comment. in Matth.*

(4) P. L., CXIV, 73, *Glossa Ordinaria, In Matth.*

(5) P. L., CXVIII, 111, *In Epiph. Domini*.

opiniones de his adhibemus, ut eligat quod salubrius iudicaverit. Nonnulli enim dixerunt eis ex Tharso vel Arabia advenisse, et in his impletam volunt esse prophetiam ad litteram, quæ dicit : *Reges Tharsis et insulæ...* et iterum : *Omnes de Saba venient...* Alii dixerunt ex Persarum regione eos venisse, sicut quidam de sapientibus... (quoting ¹Juvencus. Cf. supra p. 15). Plerique arbitrati sunt eos Chaldæos fuisse, quia Chaldaei stellas cœli deos esse putaverunt, et in arte astronomica peritissimi fuerunt. Alii dixerunt ex stirpe Balaam prophetæ eos descendisse ».

He likewise gives the various reasons for the belief that they were three in number.

Paschasius Radbertus (786-c.865), like Walafrid Strabo, from whom he draws freely, speaks of the Magi's having « alios quamplurimos in suo comitatu, sicut mos est magnorum, socios habuisse. Alioquin videtur difficile ut soli tres homines per alienas provincias tantum subirent negotium, et omnem Hierosolyman suum nuntio commoverent » (1).

He first makes the statement utilized in the drama, that the offerings are made according to the custom of the country : « Veterum enim traditio est quod Parthorum ac Persarum reges nullus sine muneribus vacuus adorabat ».

He inclines, unlike Maximus of Turin, to the belief that each offered all three gifts : « ... utrum eorum unusquisque forte hæc tria pariter obtulisset. Hoc enim potius congruit in mysterio ».

As Baist (2) and Kehrer (3) have suggested, from a reference to the names in Paschasius : « Quorum quia nomina etiam a quamplurimis viritim exprimuntur (4), we may infer that the names were of such common

(1) *P. L.*, CXX, 127, 137, *Expositio in Matth.*

(2) *Z.R.Ph.*, IV (1880), 453.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

(4) *P. L.*, CXX, 127.

acceptance that it was not thought necessary to give them. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that two writers, contemporaries of Peter Comestor (cf. *infra*), Werner of St Blasien (d. 1126 or 1174) in his *Libri deflorationum SS. Patrum* (1) and Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (fl. c. 1131) (2) both give the names in the Hebrew and Greek forms, but omit the Latin. Hartmann infers from this that the Latin names were not yet commonly known, but since the Hebrew and the Greek names occur in the same order and form in three contemporary writers, it seems quite as probable that they all drew from the same source, and that two omitted to give the well known Latin form, as Paschasius had done before them.

Christianus of Stable (end of the 9th century), is the first to suggest that the Magi were able to come from so far in so short a time because they came on dromedaries : « et quidam dicunt quod cum dromedis in duodecim diebus venerunt, postquam stellam viderunt. Est autem dromeda genus camelorum, minoris quidem staturæ sed velocioris (3).

Anselm of Laon (1050-1117) makes an exhaustive compilation from previous commentators. Some of the motifs which he mentions in his summary are the following : « Nec soli (sc. Magi) sed multis militibus stipati venisse creduntur... Nec mireris eos in tredecim diebus venisse cum equos arabicos et dromedarios habeant... Turbatus (sc. Herodes) est propter astantem multitudinem magos comitantem... Quamvis Arabes morem suæ gentis in donis offerendis sequantur... tamen aliquid mysticum in donis intelligunt. Per aurum, regia potestas ; per thus divinitas et sacerdotium significatur ; thus enim soli Deo et a sacerdote offertur...

(1) *P. L.*, CLVII, 807.

(2) *P. L.*, CLXXXVI, 83, *Unum ex quatuor*.

(3) *P. L.*, CVI, 1283, *Expos. in. Matth. Evangelistam*.

Unusquisque tria obtuleret. Unusquisque enim regem et Deum et passibilem eum credebant » (1).

He says, likewise, that it is believed that the kings returned by ship to Persia, and that Herod, in a fury, burned these ships after their return.

Honorius of Autun (1st half of the 12th century) in the *Gemma Animæ* (2) clearly makes the Magi descendants of Zoroaster, thereby taking up the motif already mentioned in connection with the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, Isidore, the *Liber de divin. offic.*, etc. « Primus Zoroaster rex magicam invenit, de cujus semine Balaam exstitit, qui de Christo hoc prædixit : *Orietur stella* (Numbers XXIV). Ex cujus progenie hi magi fuerunt qui ad Dominum cum muneribus venerunt ».

In his *Speculum Ecclesiæ* (3) Honorius speaks of the star as follows : « Hæc stella clarior sole fuit, unde et in die radians a sole obscurari non potuit, quia solem solis suo fulgore prætulit. Hæc etiam in cœlo, non cum aliis syderibus, sed in ære prope terram cucurrit... »

Peter Abelard (1079-1142) approaches the subject with the critical spirit which he had found so lacking in his master Anselm of Laon (4) whose commentary is quoted above. Abelard says : « Nonnulli hos magos reges arbitrantur fuisse, juxta illam prophetiam Psalmistæ (Psalm LXXII, 10)... Quot vero isti magi fuerint ex numero trinæ oblationis tres eos fuisse multi suspicantur ; cum hoc tamen nulla auctoritate Scripturæ definiatur » (5).

It is interesting that in spite of this skepticism, Abelard should be the first to refer to and to quote in

(1) P. L., CLXII, 1254-7, *Ennarationes in Matth.*

(2) P. L., CLXXII, 647, *Gemma Animæ*, III, XIX.

(3) P. L., CLXXII, 846, *De Epiph. Domini*.

(4) SEE H. O. TAYLOR, *The Mediæval Mind*, 3d Amer. ed. (New York, 1919), II, p. 373.

(5) P. L., CLXXVIII, 413-5, *Sermo in Epiph. Dom.*, IV.

full as an authentic commentary of Chrysostom a fanciful legend traceable to an Arian writer of not earlier than the 6th century. This legend is now printed in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum*, among the works of Chrysostom (1) and is generally referred to as the *Apocryphal Book of Seth* or *Pseudo-Chrysostom*. It is, as its author says, « Etsi non certa, non tamen destruyente fidem, sed potius delectante » and it becomes the basis of the most extravagant forms of the legend. The portions utilized by the drama are the following : « Audivi aliquos referentes de quadam scriptura... quoniam erat quædam gens sita in ipso principio orientis juxta Oceanum, apud quos ferebatur quædam scriptura inscripta nomine Seth, de apparitura hac stella et muneribus ei hujusmodi offerendis, quæ per generationes studiosorum hominum, patribus referentibus filiis suis, habebatur deducta. Itaque elegerunt seipsos duodecim quosdam ex ipsis studiosiores, et amatores mysteriorum cœlestium, et posuerunt seipsos ad expectationem stellæ illius : et si quis moriebatur ex eis, filius ejus, aut aliquis propinquorum, qui ejusdem voluntatis inveniebatur, in loco constituebatur defuncti. Dicebantur autem magi lingua eorum, quia in silentio et voce tacita Deum glorificabant. Hi ergo per singulos annos post messem trituratoriam ascendebant in montem aliquem positum ibi, qui vocabatur Mons Victorialis... in quem ascendentes et lavantes se, orabant et laudabant in silentio Deum tribus diebus, et sic faciebant per singulas generationes, expectantes semper ne forte in generatione sua stella illa beatitudinis oriretur, donec apparuit eis descendens super montem illam Victorialem, habens in se formam quasi pueri parvuli, et super se similitudinem crucis : et loquuta est eis, et docuit eos, et præcepit eis, ut proficiscerentur in Judæam... »

The Chester Play, the Coventry *Pageant of the Weavers*, the Valenciennes *Passion en rime franchoise*, the Egera

(1) P. G., LVI, 637.

Play, all make detailed use of this legend, and several other plays have elements which are reminiscent of it.

Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153) gives a new signification to the gifts : « Auri pretium ob paupertatem ; myrrhæ unguentum ob infantilis, ut assolet, corporis teneritudinem ; thuris odoramentum 'ob sordidam stabuli mansionem » (1). There is also the first suggestion since the apocryphal *Pseudo-Matthew* that Joseph was present at the Adoration, in the words « nunquid aula est stabulum, thronus præsepium, curiæ frequentia Joseph et Maria ? (2) ».

Peter Comestor (d. 1179) in his *Historia Scholastica* calls the star : « tunc creatam... discretam a cæteris, et in *splendore*, quia eam lux diurna non impedivit ; et in *loco*, quia neque in firmamento cum stellis minoribus erat, neque in æthere cum planetis sed in ære vicinas terris tenebat vias ; et in *motu*, quia prius immobilis super Judæam, magis dedit signum veniendi in Judæam, qui ex deliberatione sua Jerusalem tanquam caput Judææ, adierunt. Quibus egressis, tunc primo motu notabili præcessit eos stella ; quæ facto officio mox esse desiit (3) ».

One Ms. of the *Historia Scholastica* (4) gives all three forms of the names of the Three Kings, the Latin form of which was omitted by Zacharias Chrysopolitanus and Werner of St. Blasien (cf. *supra*) :

« *Hebraice* : Appelus, Amerus, Damasius.

Græce : Galgalat, Magalath, Sarachim.

Laline : Balthassar, Gaspar, Melchior ». (This inversion of Hebrew and Greek is followed also later by the *Legenda Aurea*).

Helinandus (b. c.1160-d. after 1229) is the first writer after Abelard to quote the *Pseudo-Chrysostom*.

(1) *P. L.*, CLXXXIII, 751, *Sententiæ*.

(2) *P. L.*, CLXXXIII, 145, *Sermo in Epiph. Dom.*

(3) *P. L.*, CXCVIII, 1542 (Citing Fulgentius, though the passage is not found in the Migne ed. of Fulgentius).

(4) Cf. S. BERGER, *op. cit.*

He gives five ways in which the star was different from other stars, instead of Chrysostom's four and Comestor's three : « Erant autem in illa stella quinque notabilia : *Tempus*, quia de die lucebat, non de nocte. *Locus*, quia non in firmamento fixa erat cum cæteris stellis, nec prope firmamentum errabat cum planetis, sed in sublimari regione prope terram iter sibi injectum peragebat. *Motus*, quia non movebatur cum firmamento ab oriente in occidentem, nec cum planetis motu contrario... sed motu singulari et proprio ab oriente in meridiem. *Claritas*, quia non impediabatur lux ejus diurna a lumine solis, sed sola cum sole lucebat. *Magnitudo*, quia altior erat et altior apparebat omnibus aliis, præter solem et lunam (1). »

Innocent III (d. 1216) says that the star was « in multis notabilem et discretam » but mentions only two ways : « lux solis eam non obumbrabat, nec in firmamento cum sideribus erat, nec cum planetis in aethere ; sed in aere sublimiori, vicina terris, immobilis permanebat » (2). He follows Peter Comestor in general but is the first to connect the journey on dromedaries with the prophecy of Isaiah LX, 6 : Inundatio camelorum operiet te, dromedarii Madian et Ephra.

Albertus Magnus (c. 1193-1280) in his *Enarrationes in Evang. Matth.*, quotes the *Pseudo-Chrysostom*, and concerning the number of the Magi, says : « scitur quod plures fuerunt nescitur tamen quot fuerunt numero, tamen tota ecclesia reputat tres fuisse viros sapientissimos » (3) and concerning the tradition of the Magi as Kings : « Reges fuerint, haberi potest ex Psalm. LXXII, 10-11. Tota etiam ecclesia testatur eos reges fuisse » (4).

To Chrysostom's differences in the star, he adds two,

(1) *P. L.*, CCXII, 514, *In Epiph. Di.*, I.

(2) *P. L.*, CCXVII, 485, *Sermo in solemnitate Apparitionis*.

(3) *Opera Omnia*, ed. Aug. Borgnet (Paris, 1893), XX, 61-4.

(4) *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 60.

its nature and meaning, which, however, are not mentioned in the drama.

Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-1274) in the *Summa* (1) quotes Chrysostom in differentiating the star from all others, but divides Chrysostom's third difference into two, making five instead of four points of difference.

The account of Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) in his *Speculum Historiale* (2) is merely that of Peter Comestor, to which is added that of the *Pseudo-Chrysostom*.

In the *Meditationes Vitæ Christi*, long falsely attributed to John of Fidanza, known as Bonaventura (3) we find in the chapter *De Ephiphania* : « De primo opere, sc. de Magorum adventu ad Christum, non est intentionis meæ narrare moralitates et expositiones, quæ sic diligenter per sanctos traditæ sunt. Qualiter ergo venerunt Magi... et quid inter eos et Herodem actum sit, et de aliis hujusmodi, legas textum Evangelii et sanctorum expositiones et invenies. Ego enim in hoc et in aliis vitæ Christi actibus intendo... ».

As the word « actibus » suggests, pseudo-Bonaventura's treatment of the subject lends itself to dramatic action ; and this of a new type, one which reflects the emotional fervor which had indeed appeared centuries before in Ephraim and Augustine, but had found no place in the dry theological « moralitates et expositiones » until it was rekindled by Bernard. There is much of Bernard's expression of devotion in pseudo-Bonaventura, but in the latter's detailed narrative, full of a human, personal element, there is more material from which the dramatist could draw. « Venerunt ergo isti tres reges, cum multitudo magna et honorabili comitiva et sunt ante illud tugurium in quo natus est Dominus Jesus. Domina sentit strepitum et tumultum et accipit

(1) *Summa Theologica* (Romæ, 1888-1918), *Pars tertia*, *Quæstio* 36, Art. VII.

(2) Pub. Mentellin, (1473), Lib. 7, T. Octaviani Augusti Cap. XCI-II.

(3) *Opera Omnia* (Lugduni, 1668), tome VI. For a discussion of the authorship of the *Meditationes* see *S. Bonaventuræ Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi, 1902), X, 25.

puerum. Intran illi domunculam et genuflectunt et adorant Dominum puerum Jesum reverenter. Honorant eum ut Regem et adorant ut Dominum. Vide quam magna fuit eorum fides. Quid enim erat credere quod ille puerulus sic viliter indutus cum paupercula matre inventus, et in loco sic abiecto, sine societate, sine familia, sine omni ornatu, esset Rex et Deus verus? Stant ergo genuflexi coram eo, colloquuntur cum Domina... Quærunt ab ea de conditionibus istius pueri. Domina narrat : et illi omnia credunt. Conspice bene ipsos, quia reverenter et curialiter loquuntur et audiunt. Conspice et Dominam quia cum rubore in verbis, et oculis ad terram demissis, ac cum verecundia loquitur, non delectatur loqui nec videri... Conspice et puerum Jesum... et illi multum delectantur in eo, tam visu mentali... quam corporali, quia speciosus erat præ filiis hominum. Tandem consolatione magna recepta, offerunt eidem aurum, thus et myrrham, aperientes thesauros suos... sc. quilibet illorum illa tria in maxima quantitate... Alias enim pro parva oblatione non oportuisset aperiri thesauros, quia parva de levi habuissent ad manus senascalli eorum. Et tunc reverenter et devote osculati sunt pedes ejus... Signavit etiam eos et benedixit. Illi ergo se inclinantes, et valefacientes, cum magno gaudio recesserunt. »

Jacobus a Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea* (1) (written c. 1280-90), in the three chapters on the Nativity, the Innocents and The Epiphany, gives the most exhaustive summary of purely theological tradition on the subject, but adds nothing new except material relating to the alleged finding of the bodies of the Three Kings in the East by St. Helena, mother of Constantine, and their translation succesively to Constantinople, to Milan, and finally to Cologne, where they become the object of deep devotion.

" (1) Ed. Graesse (Breslau, 1890), pp. 88-94. Cap. XIV. *De Epiph Domini*.

A metrical version of the Pseudo-Matthew, edited by A. Vögtlin under the title : *Vita B. V. M. et Salvatoris rythmice* (1) and, according to the editor, written probably in the first half of the 13th century, contains an account of some miracles which are also related in the Eger play, and of a conversation between Joseph and the Magi similar to that in the Chester play.

The miracles related here occur later, likewise, in John of Hildesheim's *Historia Trium Regum* (2) where they are ascribed to Germanus Historiographus and Theophilus (3). Kehrler (4) in discussing their appearance in Walther von Rheinau's *Marienleben*, says they occur elsewhere in literature only once, and once in art. Duriez (5) notes their appearance in the Eger play, and in a Ms. of St. Gall, no. 966, published by Klapper (6), but says that he has not been able to find the source. Since there is no record of the publication of Germanus and Theophilus, the appearance in the *Vita B. V. M. Salvatoris*, is therefore the earliest form which has been published, and possibly the source.

Here the miracles are related as follows :

In Magorum regione qui tunc advenerunt
Stella duce munera Jesuque tulerunt,
Fiebant mirabilia quedam et portenta,
Que scribi pro misterijs hec poterant attenta.
Horum unus assydam (7) domi nutriebat
Et eam domesticam facere studebat ;

(1) Vol. CLXXX, *Litt. Ver. in Stuttgart* (1888), pp. 69-76.

(2) HORSTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

(3) For a discussion of these two writers, see Max Pöpke, *Das Marienleben des Schweizer's Werner* (Palæstra, LXXXI, Berlin, 1913), p. 27.

(4) *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

(5) *Op. cit.*, p. 254.

(6) *Das St. Galler Spiel von der Kindheit Jesu* (Breslau, 1904) p. 125
*(Germanistische Abhandlungen, XXI).

(7) For this word, derived from the Hebrew *hasidah*, « stork », understood here as meaning « ostrich », cf. Du Cange and Diefenbach, s. v. ASSIDA, and Guillaume Le Clerc, *Le Bestiaire*, ed. R. Reinsch (*Altfrz. Bibl.*, XIV ; Leipzig, 1892), p. 439, s. v. ASSIDA.

Hec avis ova gemina solito ponebat
 Que sicut eius exigit natura confovebat ;
 Sed cum tempus venerat educationis
 Monstrum exit ab ovis huius structionis ;
 Ex uno leo prodiit, ex altero fit agnus ;
 De quo fit stupor omnibus atque timor magnus.
 Referri bene potest hoc ad integritatem
 Virginis et filii ad humanitatem,
 Qui fuit agnus innocens mortem patiendo
 Et fuisse scribitur leo resurgendo.

Alter Magus aromatum hortum complantatum
 Habuit in quo balsamum colebat propagatum ;
 In unum balsamitico stipite crescebat
 Eiusdam herba surculus, quam nemo cognoscebat,
 Vitis habens folia in supremo florem
 Iocundum atque roseum sed rosa pulchriorem,
 Crevitque folliculus floris in supremo
 Quid portaret germinis hoc sciebat nemo.
 Sed crescens hic folliculus mox dilatabatur
 Et paulatim maturescens per seque rumpebatur,
 Et prodiit avicula columbæ simulata
 Ac humanas edidit voces hec affata :
 « Natus est de virgine deus et creator
 Celi, terre, marium et hominum salvator ».

Uxor Magi tertii genuit infantem
 De nato Jesu maximum signum propalantem :
 Mox ut puer natus est supra pedes stabat,
 Profecte loquens de Jesu nato sic clamabat :
 « Natus sum, ut moriar, ego nam nascendo
 Nasciturum seculi dominum ostendo ;
 Ex unius virginis utero non tacto,
 Et ex illa sumpta carne de verbo dei facto.
 Qui post annos est triginta atque tres passurus
 Pro cunctisque supplicium mundum redempturus ».
 Ergo post triginta dies et tres moribatur

Unlike the original Pseudo-Matthew, each king gave
 all three gifts :

Aurum, mirram atque thus singuli dederunt
 Hec tria quivis obtulit, nam mistica fuerunt.
 Jesus puer videbatur manus elevare,
 Et est visus quasi munus illorum acceptare.
 Nam ad eos manum suam dexteram erexit,
 Tanquam ipsos benedicens ad eosque respexit.
 Gemmas, byssum, purpuram ipsamque decebant.
 Joseph ut nutrimum infautis honorabant.

Ex argento munera pulchra sibi dabant.
 Ipsam Joseph in secreto seorsum convocantes,
 Ab eoque de pueri statu perscrutantes ;
 Ipsis qui misterium totum referebat,
 Et esse matrem puerum rursum adorantes
 Receduntque cum gaudio matremque salutantes.

In the 14th century, the commentary of Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1340) (1) and the narratives of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* (2) (written c. 1324) (3) and of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* (4) (written c. 1370) are detailed but add nothing new to the substance of the legend.

Finally, the most exhaustive account containing both theological and extra-theological tradition which could have been used by mediæval dramatists, is that of John of Hildesheim. According to C. Horstmann, who edited one Latin Ms. and two English translations (5) the *Historia Trium Regum* was written between 1364 and 1375. Kehrer (6), Klapper (7), and Karl Simrock (8) publish German translations, and Brunet (9) testifies to the number of French editions of this popular version of the legend.

The foundation is the version of Pseudo-Chrysostom, but there are various additional elements which are adopted by the drama. The name *Vaus*, English *Vaws*, and German *Vagus*, is the name usually given, instead

(1) *Postillæ* (Romæ, 1471-2), *In Matth.*, II.

(2) Ed. J. Ph. Berjeau (London, 1861), pp. 12-13.

(3) For a discussion of the probable date and authorship of the *S. H. S.* and *Vita Christi*, see P. PERDRIZET, *Etude sur le Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* (Paris, 1908), pp. 34-46. His opinion concerning the authorship of the *S. H. S.* is refuted by K. POLHEIM, *Anz. f. deutsch. Altertum*, XXXIV, 57-9.

(4) Ed. Bolard, Rigollot et Carnandet (Paris and Rome, 1865).

(5) *Op. cit.*,

(6) *Op. cit.*, pp. 82-95.

(7) *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

(8) *Die Legende von den heiligen Drei Königen*, in *Auserlesene deutsche Volksbücher* (Frankfurt am Main, n. d.), I, 61.

(9) *Manuel du libraire*, III, *Liber de Gestis* ; and V, *Vie des Trois Rois*.

of *Mons Victorialis*, to the hill on which the twelve astrologers watched for the star, although one English Ms. follows the *Pseudo-Chrysostom* more closely with : « the hill which was also cleped the hill of Victory (1) » and one Latin Ms. : « ex tunc quidam mons nomine Vaus, qui ibidem victorialis dicitur (2) ».

Certain Mss. contain the miracles which happened to the Three Kings before they started on their quest, referred to above in connection with the *Vita B. V. M. rythmice* (pp. 31-2).

In all the versions of the *Historia Trium Regum* the star is seen at one time in the form of an eagle, as in the *Coventry Pageant of the Weavers*.

The perplexing discrepancy between the « *duodecim studiosiores* (3) » of all Western writers after Abelard who quote the *Pseudo-Chrysostom*, is ingeniously explained by the *Historia* as follows : « et tunc tres reges, qui in partibus Indie, Caldee et Persidis regnabant, de ipsa stella informati, et per astrologos instructi... ad adorandum regem natum se preparauerunt » (4).

(1) HORSTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 213.

(3) *Ibid.*, See pp. 37, 47, where they are ascribed to *Germanus historiographus* and *Theophilus scriptor gestorum Christi*, and also KLAPPER and KEHRER, *loc. cit.*

(4) HORSTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 225

LIFE

Winifred Sturdevant was born in Cambridge Springs, Pa. She prepared for college by four years of study in France and Germany, and two years at Miss Wheeler's School, Providence, R. I. She attended Bryn Mawr College during the years 1901-02, 1903-05, and 1908-09, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1909.

Since 1910 with the exception of the year 1917-18, she has been teaching French, either full or part time, in the Roland Park Country School, Baltimore. acting as vice-principal from 1914-17.

From 1912 until 1919 she has been a student in Romance Languages in Johns Hopkins University, doing full time work from 191-18. She has taken up French as her principal subject, and Spanish and Italian as first and second subordinates, respectively. She held a University Fellowship for the year 1917-18 and was instructor in French in the Summer Session of 1918 and 1919.

She has followed courses in the University under Professors Armstrong, Bloomfield, Brush, Dargan, Marden, Morize, Shaw and Terracher, Dr. Buceta and M. Carcassonne. She wishes to take this opportunity to express her gratitude to those under whom her work was done : especially to Professor Armstrong who encouraged her to continue her studies ; to Professor Marden who aroused her interest in the early drama ; to Professor Blondheim who has given her valuable assistance with her dissertation. She wishes also to thank Professor Lancaster for his many helpful suggestions.

